

HAIGAN

(THE STRUGGLE)

Organ of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party



SOCIALIST SOMALIA'S STATE SECTOR

Leninist principles of
party leadership

general aspects of
neo-colonialism

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAALGAN

published monthly by the
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
of the SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

MOHAMED ADEN SHEKH / Chairman

ABUKAR MOHAMED HUSSEIN (Ikar) / Secretary

MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Hussein Mohamed Adam

Rashid Sheck Abdullahi

Said Abdisalam

Yusuf Suleyman.

SUBSCRIPTION

Somalia

2/- shillings (Somali) per issue,
40/- shillings per year, post included.

Arab World and East Africa

\$ 12.00 per year, airmail post included.
(US dollars).

South Central and West Africa

\$ 17.00 per year, airmail post included.

Asia

\$20.00 per year, airmail post included.

Europe

\$ 25.00 per year, airmail post included.

America (North and South)

\$30.00 per year; airmail post included.

CONTENTS

I. EDITORIAL NOTES	Page	2
— On the situation in Ethiopia		
— Founding Congress of the Somali Women Democratic organisation.		
— Chama cha Mapinduzi Tanzania		
II. POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS	6	
— The Public Sector in Socialist Somalia (Hersi Mussa Hersi)		
III. PROBLEMS OF DAILY LIFE	11	
— Obstacles facing the implementaion of the rental Laws		
IV. PARTY LIFE	13	
— Secretary General's Participation in the establisment of Chama cha Mapinduzi		
— 3rd Congress of FRELIMO		
— A delegation of SRSP visits USSR		
— Formation of party cells of SRSP in Benadir region.		
— Ideological Education for the Members of the Party of the New type (M. A. Dhunkaal)		
V. WORLD AFFAIRS	20	
— General Features of Neo-colonialism (Abukar M.H. Ikar)		
VI. MONTHLY BULLETIN	22	
VII. THEORETICAL ISSUES	27	
— Leninist Principles of Party Leadership (Yusuf Suleiman Ali)		
VIII. POLITICAL VOCABULARY	30	
IX. CULTURE AND ART	31	
— Somali Patriotic poetry (Rashid Sheikh Abdullahi)		
X. BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS	34	

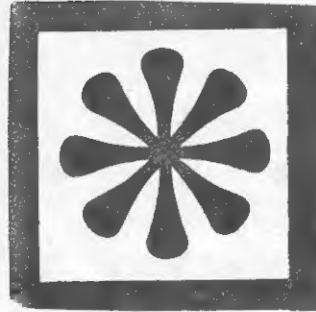
HALGAN

Official Organ of the S.R.S.P. Year One, No. 5, March 1977,

Price 2Sh. Published Monthly in Somali, Arabic and English.

People's Hall P. O. Box 1204 Telephone 720

Room No. 112 Mogadishu, SDR Ext. 51 and 74



EDITORIAL NOTES

ON THE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia has been experiencing, especially recently, constant political turmoils whose repercussions give reason for great international concern; for the countries neighbouring Ethiopia in general, and for Somalia in particular.

The Somali people are obliged for historical reasons to watch seriously what is happening in Ethiopia and to assess the essential determining factors which mold the surface events currently unfolding in that country. This calls for a historical approach which relates the present chain of events to their underlying causes in the past.

The Ethiopian Empire had roots in old Kingdoms founded upon a primitive semi-feudal socio-economic formation. Internal class subjugation and oppression was coupled with imperialistic expansionism and the subjugation of foreign nationalities.

Inspite of its collaborative links with major Empires such as those of the British and the French and Russia, Ethiopia did not manage to develop very much along capitalistic channels; its commercial relations remained small, its internal and external communication systems remained primitive and the political regime remained crude, anachronistically feudalistic.

A monarch headed this feudal Empire, surrounded by vassals of various types. In the ensuing colonising conquests, the monarch depended on the military support of these vassals; the territories thus conquered were subdivided for benefit of the monarch and rubber-barons. This primitive conquest structure was kept together by the tributary process and its synical alliances with international imperialist powers.

The embryonic Ethiopian Empire came to enjoy intimate connections with other Empires with exception of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman influence was extended over a large muslim area including Egypt, the Sudan, parts of Somalia etc.; The Christian (Coptic) Abyssinians who founded the Ethiopian Empire, used to appeal to the various European Empires proclaiming:

«We are a Christian enclave encircled by Muslim fanatics. We seek your help and we shall repay you gratefully for your assistance». This appeal further mobilised Western imperialists in their designs against African peoples, and thus facilitated their utilizing Ethiopia as a satellite in pursuing their own interests. The Ethiopian Empire gained a number of military, political and diplomatic advantages as a result of such connections.

During the 1930's Italian Fascism coveted the Ethiopian Empire. The Fascist invasion of Ethiopia mobilized democratic sympathies on behalf of Ethiopia. The Haile Selassie Regime profited from these sympathies and used them effectively in the struggle for full consolidation of international power and in-

ternational prestige. This encouraged the Ethiopian regime to pursue new conquests at a time when European Empires were disintegrating following World Wars I and II.

The disintegration of all these Empires was made inevitable by their inner contradictions and all the other objective changes occurring in world history. This was a period of intense and hectic class struggles within European societies and their empires; the workers and other progressive democratic forces acquired new perspectives on the world situation; the international capitalist order experienced a great deal of economic instability, even periods of sheer anarchy; the colonial peoples became fully awakened and began to heighten their struggles for independence.

This objective international situation permitted the revolutionary masses of Russia, led by the workers and their vanguard Party, solidly equipped with the ideology of scientific Socialism to successfully destroy the Russian Feudal-capitalistic Empire; thus bringing into world history the first Socialist Revolution, and the concrete results of socialist reconstruction of society. Unlike the case of the other European Empires, Russia came to attain territorial integrity as a result of a correct handling of the national question. The cohesive unity of the different nationalities making up the Soviet Union is a result of the genius of the Great Leader Comrade V.I. Lenin who came forth with the brilliant formula for resolving the contradictions inherent in the national-colonial question: This formula guaranteed for every nationality within the Empire, the right for self-determination. The historical validity of this principle is today manifested by the bonds of equality, mutual and reciprocal respect enjoyed by the various nationalities comprising the USSR.

The historical causes underlying revolutionary changes elsewhere were operative within the Ethiopian Empire as well, but various other factors, including the primitive brutal methods of the Haile Selassie regime, worked to delay their results. The terroristic use of violence temporarily checked even reform oriented movements with Ethiopia. The regime used effective also national and ethnic divisions and its intimate links with world imperialism. Such techniques had already become historically defunct.

Ethiopia must presently choose either a chauvinistic approach of resolving national contradictions and, therefore, face disaster, or opt for a genuine socialistic approach catering for the justice and rights of the working masses and for the right of self-determination for the various nationalities struggling for such rights. A sincere socialist solution to the nationalities problem would pave the way for friendly fraternal relations with those of her neighbours who are very much anxious to see a happy and prosperous future for the Ethiopian masses who have suffered untold hardships under the ancient regimes.

THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE SOMALI WOMEN DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATION

The mobilization efforts that have been undertaken in the districts, regions and capital of the Somali Democratic Republic have been in preparation for the first congress of the Somali Women Democratic Organization (SWDO).

This congress will have far reaching consequences for our society. The Somali Women Democratic Organizations will function as one of the three fundamental social or mass organisations that will serve as a link between the SRSP and the masses of Somali Women. The other organizations include those for workers and for the Youth, their respective founding congresses will also be held this year.

The SWDO has a special role to play in mobilizing Somali Women against all forms of oppression & exploitation, in mobilizing them for education, employment and in organising their crucial contribution towards social progress in general.

The historical role played by Somali Women cannot be overemphasised. In all the phases of our history, the struggle for independence, the revolutionary efforts, national reconstruction etc., Somali Women have played an outstanding role.

Since the birth of October 21st Revolution, there emerged courageous attitudes, a spirit of enthusiasm and zeal for work; petty selfishness and afminshism have been checked. In such an atmosphere, characterised by revolutionary emulation, the role and contribution of our women has shone like a sun which has emerged from behind the dark clouds.

Women constitute the basis of society's family, culture, productive and social networks, in general very little has been done on their behalf. In our case we need to implement a national programme for involving house-wives into productive employment, for rural women in order to revolutionize and improve their condition of life; for those in urban areas, women workers especially in administration, armed forces, the youth and intellectuals, it is imperative to transform their consumer oriented attitudes and replace it with zeal for production, with a continuous determination to become exemplary in the difficult stage we are going through for the construction of socialism.

Let us conclude with a quotation from the decisive declaration of the Central Committee of the SRSP which states as follows on Women: «They should be evaluated and praised according to their role in production, organisation, application of socialist oriented culture, standad of work and forms of life». We need not elaborate further on this statement. As the tumult and jubilations accompanying the holding of this founding Congress fade away, the confidence in the role of women in our revolutionary society is bound to increase.

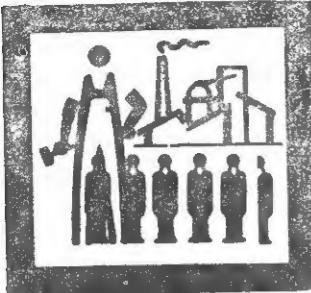
CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI TANZANIA

Tanzanian Revolutionary Party

The Republic of Tanzania emerged out of the unification of the former Tanganyika and Zanzibar Islands. That unification was due to the whole hearted sincerity of the two peoples and the shrewdness and political maturity of their leaders, and that became a vivid example for many regions, whose unification is an utmost necessity despite the wedges driven among them by foreign propaganda and influence. If the lust for power of certain heads of states could have been done away with, undoubtedly the wells separating many sisterly nations would have collapsed and the chains round their necks broken so as to extend brotherly assistance one to the other.

Apparently in these days, new concepts have been injected into the African political system: national political systems, economical associations (without any orientation) and the eagerness of certain heads to remain life-presidents. We are witnessing the collapse of established organisations, rather than the achievement of higher standards of organisation; the last of which was the East African Airways Corporation. Tanzania took another step toward complete unification by unifying the two political parties. On the 1st February the two political parties emerged as the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party, so as to lead the country through one political organ. Because of our deep consideration for the Tanzanian people and the creation of the new party, a top level delegation headed by the General-Secretary of SRSP, left for Zanzibar in order to participate at the inauguration ceremony. That was followed by the visit to Somalia of the Tanzanian Vice-president, Comrade Aboud Jumbe, the former head of the Afro-Shirazi Party, who was received in a warm comradely spirit.

Undoubtedly, the African people will deeply consider and welcome such a courageous step and will highly benefit from the first congress of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party that will be held in September. Similarly, the exchange of visit by the leaders of the two states will enrich the experience of the Somali people and facilitate the implementation of scientific socialism in both countries.



POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The Public Sector In Socialist Somalia

By Hersi Musa Hersi

INTRODUCTION

It is an inclination among the «intellectuals» and «technocrats» to play down the role of the public sector in development. There is preference by the intellectuals to tackle problems of social development in the cafe? and other gatherings; while the «technocrats» pretend to know all solutions, without realizing the class character of their suggestions. These technocrats preach that we have no problems in the public sector. They make the picture so rosy but I want to remind them that it is better to explode illusions in time by committing ourselves and practicing the principle of «criticism and self-criticism». Instead of concrete analysis, individual predilections and descriptions of superficial phenomena have come to dominate the discussions on the public sector. Appearances pass as reality, while proper analysis of reality is condemned as «doctrinaire». Such a situation is extremely dangerous, at the new stage of constructing a basis of egalitarian society. To combat against such a situation, this paper is a modest attempt.

The public sector is playing a dominant role in restructuring the structural-pattern of relationship inherited from colonial and neo-colonial domination of our economy. (1) Toward this objec-

tive we are trying to analyse the constraints and difficulties (internal or external) facing this important sector of our economy.

A— The historical perspective of the public sector:

As characterized by the nature of the neo-colonial economy, the period before the revolution from 1960 — 1969, witnessed the dominance of foreign private firms in the modern sector of industry, commerce and services. These firms were safeguarding and perpetuating the domination and interests of the international corporations.

For example the foreign banks two Italian, one Egyptian and one British, tended to lend only for commercial ventures — import and export or retail — rather than for agriculture and manufacturing. There were close in-bred linkages among the banana planters, the banks, the traders and the insurance companies.

This situation of dependence was described so clearly by Jaalle Siad as follows: «Our country, first through colonialism and then because of reactionary cliques, has conserved an extremely backward economic structure. The only sector of the economy was the foreign trade sector. This sector was almost wholly in foreign hands. And it was not possible,

in any way, to reconcile their interests with those of our nation. No foreigner has reinvested in other sectors of production, those profits made in trade.

They had advantage of the investment law to send the profits they have made back to their countries. That law, which was originally passed to attract foreign investments has been transformed into an efficient instrument for contraband purposes. In this way our economy never developed and continued to be dependent on other countries even for food stuffs, which counted for a higher proportion of the imports. (2)

As mentioned in the Dec. Issue of Halgan, the public sector in the period of 1960—69 was negligible, and any intervention of the neo-colonial regime was regulatory oriented, rather than growths and development oriented. This fact was evident because the economy was subservient to the logic (if any) of international capitalism, which counteracted against any control of the national resources and any proper mobilization, for achieving self-sustained growth.

It is important to underline that those joint ventures were in terms of organizations and management diametrically opposed to



any philosophy of workers participation, because they were modelled after the capitalist firms of typical limited liability company with hierarchical organization of responsibility. A form which shows the basic capitalist relation of production at that sector (3).

SOCIALIST POLICY AND THE GENERAL PROBLEMS OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR:

As mentioned previously, the main concern of this paper is the constraints and difficulties facing the public sector today, since the growth of this sector and its role has been analysed in a previous paper (4).

The socialization and nationalization of the means of production were undertaken to:-

A) Insure that surplus remained in the country for reinvestment and growth.

B) Maximize government's control over mobilization of resources for development. This control extended to investment pattern, enterprises level of production, employment, pricing and distribution.

These steps were congruent to the socialist policy consisting of a combination of extended public ownership leading to tremendous growth at this sector and centralized control, which means a translation of national goals directly into objectives for public enterprises, with very limited dependence on indirect policy incentives and market mechanism.

The socialist policy necessitates to pinpoint certain aspects, important for the understanding of the objectives of the public sector. These aspects are the parameter on which we measure the role ex-

pected from the public enterprises:

1. Production performance and increase in level of physical production or increasing export.
2. Creation of employment opportunities in line with the socialist policy of full-employment.
3. Contribution to the government revenue: as the public enterprises role in national accumulation.

All these parameters were relatively positive in fact the public enterprises contributed to the national economy, extended their physical production and took active role in employment creation as already shown by the previous paper. Still there are paramount constraints facing the public enterprises and their effective role either in production increase, employment creation, and their contribution for the accumulation, which can lead failure to reach the expected targets. These constraints are the following:

LACK OF PLANNING: the lack of systematic planning of this sector is one of the crucial problems facing it. This fact has been recognized in the Third General Meeting of the Central Committee of SRSP (see the decisions Halgan, Jan-Issue). Planning as a means of pooling resources and nationalizing the public sector is crucial, especially if we consider our aim towards accumulation in a mixed economy. The mixed economy shows different socio-economic formations which are dual, although interrelated. as a whole. They limited the existence of multi-sectoral economy. Among these sectors are,

the subsistence sector, petty-commodity economy and modern sector showing high level of social labour. Basically it is this sector which the non-capitalist path of development takes place and in our context the public sector. There is possibility of systematic planning in this sector if we first even by the limited data available establish a comprehensive plan to this sector, which will be the base for the future national plans. Only through this evolutionary tackling of the constraints, can the future nationalization be possible. This step by step approach might safeguard us from the «technocratic» complication of simple problems, by pinpointing lack of data and attempting for perfection. At the same time possibility of reducing the dependency on foreign capital, foreign trade and fluctuations of international market might rationalize itself of course in this context keeping in mind the entire policy of industrialization. And it is in this direction which the decision of using socialist planning as basic instrument for national development passed by the 3rd Meeting of the Central Committee of SRSP will lead to.

Related to this problem is the constraints arising from transfer of technology, specially the highly capitalized machines in the manufacturing sector recently established. (In contrast to those established with the assistance of the socialist countries rather intermediate in capital labour ratio). This proportional claims of the investment has to be given careful attention, because capital intensive bears direct effect on the employment creation, which is essential for the structural link of this sector to the other. (5)

PROBLEMS OF PRODUCTION:

Most of public enterprises in manufacturing, trade and construction are working at lower than desirable levels of capacity utilization (material and men). This is because they are newly established and are just building up to planned production out of bottlenecks in the flow of inputs and plant imbalances etc. The low capacity utilization generates high cost production of a number of the existing public enterprises, which again creates pricing problem. At a low level of utilization a dilemma in pricing arises since the cost plus margin would mean that consumers would have to bear the cost burden of the idle capital. On the other hand, if comparable harder prices are used many factories would sell below their cost of production. Until these conditions the solution lies in increasing production and taking measures to solve the supply and marketing problems (6).

Related to this problem was

that public enterprises were faced with high-interest rate due to debt in heavy capital structures and compounding other problem, through continued poor financial arrangements like deficiencies in working capital.

This problem has been partly solved by the revolutionary government by correcting these debts into assets by the 3rd Meeting of the Central Committee of SRSP. The other part is still to be considered although some steps have already been undertaken like the control of their credit from the banks. But what is needed is that the greatest part of profit be retained by the enterprises; or a clear cut re-organization and differentiation of the public enterprise be made in line with establishing new credit criterias and levels. Here the role of the banks and Ministry of Finance will be of vital importance for their reorganization.

the enterprises ability to self-fina-



ncing for working capital and replacement requirements should also be considered. This should be adjusted in order to reflect the self-financing and ability of the public enterprises to make substantial contribution to the accumulation at the national level.

THE HETEROGENIETY OF THE PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

The organization of the public enterprises, their variety and types show a kind of heterogeneity which makes difficult any task of putting them under common denominator as public enterprises. They range from agricultural state enterprise such as the Crash Programme to the service agency such as Somali Shipping Agency. Some of their activities could be exercised by departmental organizations, in order to rationalize their sector, because of the objective of most economical use of limited manpower and resources. Although their increase is a result of increasing development activities, which cannot be fulfilled by the bureaucratic structure of the Ministries, still for the sake avoiding duplication of work and ill-defined objectives is necessary to regroup them in most efficient manner.

The reorganization can follow on financial basis or regrouping them under one or big corporation, for better availability, use and self-financing objectives (example to this point is the Tanzania development corporation which consist of different industries and export institutions).

The definition of the relationship between Ministries and Agencies or enterprise definition of relative roles strengthens personality behav-

our to be decisive rather than organizational efficiency and management.

Related to the organizational structural problems of the public agencies is the lack of efficiency criteria specially lack of cost norms or production standards as compulsory features of the operations of public enterprises. In the decisions of the 3th Meeting of the Central Committee of SRSP, a new accounting system will be implemented by the public agencies to achieve a solution of different constraints existing now such as tax collection from the agencies, estimation of better statistical data such as GNP for purpose of planning etc. But what to be kept in mind is to develop the elements of cost accounting in this new system for the use in the Public sector and the enterprises systems are prerequisite for employing production and or cost norms (7).

THE PROBLEM OF MANPOWER AND WORKER'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MANAGEMENT.

The circular of the president on manpower and training and the decisions of the 3rd meeting of the Central Committee of SRSP have tackled some crucial problems facing the manpower and specially the essential role of the workers in socialist management and control (8). The training of the workers is a essential prerequisite of solving the difficulties arising from the shortage of skilled manpower, through apprenticeship on the factory floor-level and practically on the job. It is also emphasising the use of available expertise particularly in the industrial sector, where the large

Portion of public investment as the base of socialist construction is being made. (7) This sector will be also the basis of working class, so their participation not only management committees, but in the effective decisionmaking of the enterprises is crucial. (See the Workers Affairs chapter on the decisions).

In this context it is important to analyse basic differences between socialist and capitalist managers. Apparently there is a tendency among bourgeois management sciences to underestimate the differences between socialist and capitalist managers. Without losing sight over the area of similarities in terms of professional make-up, there is a qualitative basic differences :

1. Differences on the motivation of the socialist manager is required to work harder at ambitious targets, to learn faster, to work when it counts for the record, and not when special money incentives are introduced. In other words the social system in which he operates assumes that he has a higher need for achievement.

2) i) Differences in degrees such as the great awareness of the socialist manager of his social responsibility and his commitment to societal objectives than is usually required from his counterpart in private enterprises.

ii) The socialist manager is called upon a greater understanding of the macro-economic science and the dialectic of democratic centralism. His effectiveness is at one time more related to his ability to lead (as one-man management principle) and implement decision; and to be conscious that this decision

is taken from below (the workers). (9)

(See also A. F. Sherif: Developing new Managers for the socialist enterprise sector in the U.A.R., In a Decade of Public Administration in Africa, (ed) by A. H. Rweyemamu and Garan Hyden, East African literature bureau, P. 259.

CONCLUSION.

This was an attempt to outline some of the basic problems facing the public sector in socialist-oriented Somalia, particularly at the new stage of enhancing the societal socio-economic development; economic development in terms of productivity and higher level of productive forces; and social development in terms of higher national achievement and construction of equalitarian system led by the workers and

We have to re-emphasise that the base for this charited goal will be to think in term of Marxian dialectical relation between productive forces and production relations, and to analyse the society accordingly specially in the case of a transitional society like Somalia.

NOTES

1. 1. Kuuze, I: Social conceptions and structural change in the African countries with socialist orientation, (Memo), Leipzig, 1972.
2. Stella d'Ottobre, 7 Maggio P. 577-78, 1970.
3. SHIVIJI, Issa: Capitalism unlimited: Public corporation in partnership with multi-national corporations, (memo), Dares-Salaam 1973, P. 31.

peasants.

4. Halgan, December, 1976.

5. Abel-Fadil, Mohamoud: A note on alternatives pattern of development under conditions of socialism; in: Co-existence, Vol. 9, PP. 16-24 Mao Lehose, Glasgow, 1972, P. 17.

6. World Bank Report: Somalia, recent economic development and current prospects, VOL. II, 1975, P. 7-9.

7. World Bank Report, ibid, P. (See also Halgan, Janary Issue, P.)

8. Sherif, A.F: Development New managers for the socialist enterprise sector in U.A.R., in : A. H. Rweyemamu & Garan Hyden (ed), a decade of public administration in Africa, East African literature bureau, 1976, P. 259.

BROBLEMS OF DAILY LIFE

OBSTACLES FACING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RENTAL LAWS

Since its birth, the Revolution has achieved success after success in the interest of the working people.

Within a short period many gains were made in spite of the attempts of local reactionaries and imperialism to divert us from the revolutionary path taken on the 21st October 1969. The **reactionaries in the service of neo-colonialism** are like the chameleon with many changing colours and always intent to impede our revolutionary progress.

In this issue of HALGAN we want to discuss and analyse the objectives behind the rental law and the **conspiracy under taken to hinder** its implementation. The rental law number 44, passed on the 27th November 1973 was meant to benefit the low income groups of workers, and the **Somali masses in general**.

The revolution, being aware of the problems of renting, has recognized the the urgency of the rental law. Among these problems are:

1. The rents claimed by the landlords is too high; it does not correspond to the wages and incomes of the low income groups of wor-

kers and other working masses. This created a situation in which a great number of residential houses were reserved for foreign diplomats and expatriates who earn fat salaries.

2. The creation of employment opportunities for a large number of people since the Revolution further increased the demand for residential houses.

3. The construction of buildings for factories, schools hospitals etc. in the capital created jobs for many people who migrated from the rural districts and villages.

The revolution not limiting itself to the issuance of a rental law in its efforts to solve the housing problem, took also the following steps.

1. To enlargen the public housing (casa popular) in order to provide government employees with living quaters in the following years;

2. Every Government agency is urged to build houses for its employees; a resolution to this effect has been adopted in the first National Congress. The expenses should come from its profits and from bank loans.

If I take my section of the city as an example, the problems facing the implementation of the rental law are as follows:

1. Many people dont grasp the implication of the law which hinders its timely implementation;

2. The committees appointed for the execution of the law have not effectively performed their tasks. This created the following situation:

- a) Similar to the days of the corrupt governments many houses are unoccupied as they are earmarked for exorbitant rents and their use is therefore denied to the public;

- b) Quarrels between the tenants and the landlords still exist and no solutions have been so far provided by the committees. This situation has in many cases led to forms of understandings between the tenants and the landlords not in accordance with the rental law;

- c) In some other cases the rental law is wrongly interpreted either deliberately or because of ignorance, and therefore loses its revolutionary objectives.

It is a historical fact that every socialist revolution faces difficulties created by its

enemies in order to divert it from achieving progress and prosperity for its people. However, it is the duty of a socialist revolution led by a vanguard party to formulate an objective policy for solving social problems and external and internal difficulties and for the construction of socialism. The General Secretary of the SRSP Comrade Mohamed Siyad Barre himself stated «the socialist must carry away the reactionaries like the flood carries away logs».

The situation being as it is, it is necessary:

1. To expedite the construction of living quarters for the workers as has been resolved in the first National Congress. This, of course, depends upon the share of the national income earmarked for housing.

2. As mentioned in the Party Programme, the commercial community in the country must participate in the construction of housing

projects. Naturally, their rights will be protected as they are among the national forces whose interests the revolution safeguards.

3. The rental structure and methods should be revised in order to protect the interests of the workers and the public who live in residential quarters like «Casa Popular» and the African Village. This is so because today these quarters come under the administration of the public relations department of the Somali Workers' Organization.

4. The Committees appointed for the execution of the rental law should become conscious of the weight of their responsibilities. We recommend that sub-committees should be appointed in every section of the city in order to facilitate the execution of the law:

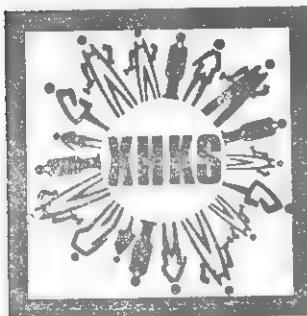
5. The keys of the unoccupied houses should be handed over to the sub-dis-

trict party cell. They should decide upon the would-be tenants in accordance with the waiting list and upon the amount of the rent with the consultation of the technicians of the local government;

6. Both the workers and the general public should be made to understand the spirit and the objectives of the rental law.

It is obvious that if the above mentioned suggestions are put into practice the solution of the housing problems will be on hand and the problems will be relegated to history.

Being guided by the Party Programme and Statute and the valuable words of the leader of the Revolution, the General Secretary of the SRSP comrade Mohamed Siyad Barre, we promise to defeat the enemies of the progress of the nation.

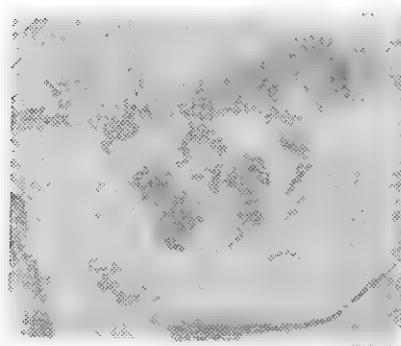


PARTY LIFE

SECRETARY GENERAL'S PARTICIPATION IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI

By Ibrahim Megaag Samatar

Member of the CC of the SRSP



In this issue several topics concerning Party activities done within and without the country during the month of February will be mentioned:

The participation in the celebration of the merger of the two Tanzanian Parties: TANU and ASP; the foundation of the newly united Party «Chama Cha Mapinduzi» which means «Revolutionary Party».

The participation in the 3rd Congress of the leading political organisation of Mozambique - FRE-LIMO.

The return of the delegation of the SRSP from a study tour in the Soviet Union.

The cell formation of the Somali Revolutionary socialist Party.

Also in this month's article of Party life, we have a written contribution titled: the Ideological Education of the Members of the

Party of the New Type, written by Mohamud Abdi Dhunkaal.

The participation in the foundation of «Chama Cha Mapinduzi».

As it is known in November 1976 the Central Committee of the nationalist organisation of Tanganyika (Tanganika African National Union - TANU) and the revolutionary council of Afro-Shirazi (Afro-Shirazi Party) had a meeting in which they decided to merge. TANU was the Party which liberated the nation of Tanganyika from British colonialism in 1961 and led it since then. Like-wise ASP was leading a struggle against British colonialism and its puppet feudal regime in Zanzibar. In January 1964, the Afro-Shirazi Party uprooted

the feudal regime to which the British handed over the rule and since then pursued a socialist revolution. In that same year the two countries Zanzibar and Tanganyika, united and formed the United Republic of Tanzania.

In this period of 13 years, the United Republic of Tanzania under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was involved in national development and socialist construction, taking an important role in African affairs though the two parties were working separately. After the decision to merge, it was decided to converge the celebration of the unity with the 20th anniversary of ASP and the 10th anniversary of the Arusha Declaration. Various leaders and other



parties were invited for this historic celebration.

From our country, a strong delegation led by the Secretary General of the SRSP attended. Our Tanzanian brothers, also honourably invited Heads of States of Zambia, Burundi, the Prime Minister of Madagascar, the Vice-President of Mozambique and Leaders from various countries and parties. The Secretary General and his delegation were warmly and comradely welcomed in Zanzibar, the venue for the celebrations. The celebration itself which was well organised occurred on the 5th of February. Various organisations participated: the armed forces, workers, peasants, women, students and social organisations. The celebration reflected the unity, discipline, enthusiasm and devotion the Tanzania masses have for their revolutionary new party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) and leaders Julius Nyerere and Aboud Jumbe....

The Chairman of the Party Julius Nyerere, and his Vice Chairman Aboud Jumbe gave an important speech about the history of the two parties, their long struggle for independence, the indomitable resolve to wage struggle against neocolonialism, towards complete political and economic independence and the tasks of the new party in the creation of socialist society. The merger of the two parties it was pointed out, is a fundamental step towards the unity of Africa.

During the process of the celebration the Secretary General of the SRSP had discussions and exchange of ideas with the various leaders who were present; he had long discussions with the leaders of Tanzania Comrades Julius Nyerere and Aboud Jumbe. After the

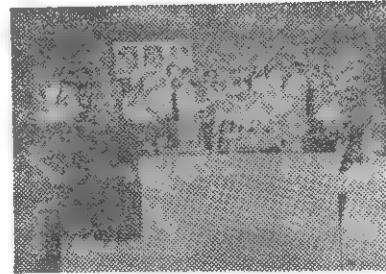
celebrations, the Secretary General as a guest of the Tanzanian leaders made a tour of Pemba, one of Zanzibar's Islands. During his tour he was warmly and enthusiastically received by the masses.

The participation of our delegation in essence depicts the importance our party attaches to the unity of the two-parties and the foundation of the new party (Chama

Cha Mapinduzi). We wish the best «Chama Cha Mapinduzi» and Tanzanian people's will to construct a socialist society and a free united Africa

We believe that these objectives which are also the objectives of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and Somali masses will be become a reality as a result of hard work and sacrifices.

THIRD CONGRESS OF FRELIMO



Frelimo, the organisation which led the real struggle of the Mozambique masses to independence made its third congress in the capital of that country Maputo. It was the first congress which took place within the country since its independence. As a result the masses and leaders gave special consideration and significance to the Congress. Accordingly various parties from many countries were invited. The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party was represented by a delegation led by the Assistant Secretary General, Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokar.

The Congress which reflected enthusiasm and determination was well organised. Crucial decisions which are the outcome of the transitional stage the Mozambiquan society is going through and which are

related to the construction of a socialist society were reached. As is well known Frelimo was the organisation which led Mozambique's successful organised struggle against colonialism. After independence it became imperative to reorganise the movement and convert it into a party with a political and economic programme in order to develop the society, fight against the remnants of colonialism and implement socialism.

Consequently the Congress approved that while using the same name FRELIMO it should become a party of the New Type with the ideology of scientific socialism and applying democratic centralism. A

new Programme and Statute was approved and the leadership organs were elected. Comrade Samora Michel was elected the President of the new party, Frelimo, and the head of the State. The relation between Frelimo and Somali Revo-

lution is indeed deep, as far back as the days when Frelimo was struggling for independence and we believe that this friendship will endure. We wish everlasting success for this Marxist - Leninist Party.

TOUR OF SRSP DELEGATION TO THE USSR

A delegation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party led by the Chairman of the Mobilization Bureau of the Central Committee, Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi which included administrators of the Party organs, regional and district secretaries, army officers, representatives from the local governments and people from all social organisation left for an educational tour of the Soviet Union on the 12th of January this year.

The delegates received a warm reception during their stay in Moscow; they were given theoretical education and visited places of historical significance to the Soviet

People. After that they went to Azerbaijan where they received practical education.

Their meeting with the Communist Party organisations in the districts sub-districts co-operative and industries were informative. During these meetings they were given reports on how Party work is implemented and about the formation of Party Committees.

During their study tour in the Soviet Union the delegates were delighted to see how well informed devoted, respectful and considerate Soviet leaders were; they were

well-informed about Somalia's struggle and they appreciate the teacher of our Revolution Jaalle Siyaad, the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Somali People.

Special mention should be made about the greetings the delegates took to the Soviet Leaders from Jaalle Siyaad and the Central Committee of the SRSP. The delegates gave out presents such as pictures which portrayed the friendly relations of the two countries, the Programme and Statute of the Party and other books concerning about the struggle of Somali people wherever they went.

THE FORMATION OF THE CELLS OF

On February 19th Party cells were formed in the Benadir region. With the exception of Benadir region, party cells were formed earlier in the regions and their benefits for the progress of the party were experienced.

In the third plenary session of the Central Committee of the SRSP the Secretary General clearly explained the objectives of cell for-

mation, indicating that they are the basis and foundation of the Party.

Strictly adhering to the foundation rules, the cell formation process was completed successfully. The nucleus of the Party cells were formed in the 52 sub-districts of the Benadir region. Members of the Party in every sub-district were called to their repec-

THE SRSP

tive orientation centres so that they could participate in the founding conference of the cells. When the conference was opened, a report was given about the essence of the formation of the cells, after that names of the cell Committees of the sub-districts were presented. The conference approved these Committees in the democratic centralism spirit.

Ideological Education For The Members of The Party Of The New Type

M. A. Dhunkal member of CC of
the SRSP

The Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare, once remarked, «The ideology of Scientific Socialism is the only one that permits us to overcome our difficulties, to reach common understanding and decisions». It is therefore crucial to emphasise this revolutionary ideology of our present epoch and to relate it to the education for our party cadre members and the masses at large. This ideology of scientific socialism is the foundation upon which the SRSP is leading the Somali working masses. (see, for instance, the SRSP's programme for educating the party members and the directive from the Secretary-General attached to this programme).

The revolutionary ideology of Scientific Socialism is the ideology of the transition from the obsolete social systems based on oppression, imperialism, underdevelopment and exploitation to a new advanced social order which allows the people to attain complete liberty and equality. Party members and the masses should be, therefore, oriented with this appropriate ideology reflecting on the transformations of the culture, economy and pointing towards the progress of the new society.

Scientific socialism illuminates the ways of understanding the stages of social development, the shortcomings and contradictions of exploitative Social systems and the revolutionary factors and elements capable of effecting socio-economic changes in the underdeveloped societies in order to construct new social orders based on justice.

Inculcating the ideology of Scientific Socialism implies the eradication of all decadent ideas from the minds of the workers, youth and the masses as a whole and substituting them with concrete ideas epitomising the interests of the masses and ensuring for them genuine equality. It implies emphasising the necessity of work and the development of the essential technology for socialist construction. Such revolutionary ideas embodied by scientific Socialism correspond with the interests of the working classes who are determined to carry out constant economic and cultural struggles against underdevelopment.

Scientific Socialism is a universal ideology and is a product of struggle between the old classes working against social change and representing exploitative ideologies and the new classes struggling for genuine socio-economic transformation, real development and the re-structuring of the previous societies. Hence, scientific Socialism requires the profound comprehension of the workers outlook and the constant changes through which this outlook undergoes in order to fit itself into real practice.

The essence of Scientific Socialism lies on the social ownership of the means of production, the existence of economic planning, the realisation of collective work and equal distribution of the fruits of labour and the constant increase of production and the technical knowledge pertaining to it. This should be the subject matter for our children's socializa-

tion, the basis of youth, workers, party members and masses training and orientation. This also involves the teaching of the history of the workers organizations, the revolutionaries of Scientific Socialism and the history of all socialist revolutions with particular emphasis to the history and objectives of the Somali Socialist Revolution. As far as modern history records and ever since mankind started writing, he was always pre-occupied, with discussions and interpretation of what existed rather than the ways of changing the existing conditions. This came about for the first time with the appearance of the great philosophers of Scientific Socialism.

It is on this historical background that Scientific Socialism emerges as a revolutionary ideology necessitating the practical replacement of injustice with justice, inequality with equality, exploitation with equality in both ownership of the means of production, distribution, private property, public property, primitive technology with modern technology, underdevelopment with development and so forth.

The realisation of the above tasks presupposes the practical involvement, the revolutionary work of the oppressed classes guided by scientific knowledge and outlook. Thus the necessity of praxis, of involvement in the training of our party members and the working masses at large. Our party members and the masses should apply what they learn from Scientific Socialism to the

tasks of their daily activities and especially in social production, socialist industrialisation, cooperativisation, introduction of new technology, etc. The essence of practice is an outlook geared towards certain visible work done. As such, therefore, the practice of Scientific Socialism is the application and the materialisation through work of real science. Practice without an ideology is blind and conversely thought without practice is sterile futility.

Scientific Socialism demands literacy campaigns to provide complete literacy to all the members of the society and to ensure that every individual is capable of employing the basic arts of reading and writing. Scientific Socialist practice also creates for all members the opportunity of pursuing further the higher sciences, so that the attained knowledge could be appropriately applied in social production and in the realisation of a decent living for all members of the society. This indicates that the crucial objective of learning lies in its application as a means overcoming both natural and social problems. Likewise, the proper learning of Scientific Socialism involves the practice of analysing and solving social problems.

In our local conditions, every revolutionary should grasp the general principles and the outlook of Scientific Socialism and put it into practice, always fitting into our own conditions such fields as socialist economic planning, the constant accountability of private and state property and the socialist educational planning, for both higher and lower institutions. Furthermore, the socialist principles of turning the whole peop-

le into workers, the eradication of the private ownership of the means of production thereby removing all possibilities of exploitation in the production process, the maximisation of production and its maintenance on the level desirable for the requirements of the national budget should all be strictly observed.

This also involves taking into consideration the balanced principles governing the creation of a socialist economy and the organisation of the production units and enterprises to play their role in contributing their share of social production. The primary objective of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of the people and as a result of the scientific laws upon which it operates, the constant growth of production output and the development of its technological base are both assured. The accountability of such growth is not haphazard but is scientifically calculable in accurate statistical data.

Scientific socialism holds that labour is the essence of humanity which began as result of the development of the instruments of labour. Hence, arises the paramount necessity of teaching our party members and the masses the virtues of labour which is the basis for the creation of the instruments of production without which no society could aspire to construct genuine socialism. Individuals failing to contribute and participate in this collective goal are not revolutionaries and can never be considered true socialists. Social labour should be based on rational organisation and planning where all the members of the society are engaged according to their talents and skill. Wasted labour

efforts caused by professional and occupational misplacements should be avoided.

The bureaucracy should not be above the labour process where the bureaucrats feel free in suppressing the workers and in determining the pace and rhythm of work.

The experience of the struggles of the parties and revolutions of the socialist countries is part and parcel of the ideology of scientific socialism. This encourages our party members to learn from the history and experience of these countries, from all those countries attaining an advanced level of scientific and technological development. This experience includes the success already accomplished, the current success being achieved as well as the shortcomings confronted by these socialist countries in their long struggles. Our party members should grasp the positive sides of these struggles in order to broaden their insights and at the same time study the negative aspects in order to avoid falling into the same pitfalls. Our proper consciousness with regards to these tasks and their dialectical evaluations will enable us reach our goals within a short period.

Naturally, this requires our full participation in constant studies irrespective of academic levels attained. It also conditions the dire need of consciously understanding our own experience, the scientific analysis of our society and comprehending its resemblance and contrasts with other socialist societies. Our failure in these matters will compel us to lag behind the world whose very essence is founded upon constant changes and progress.

The philosophers of Scientific Socialism indicated that nobody could possess revolutionary consciousness unless he applied his knowledge into concrete practice.

This reflects that a party member without a revolutionary consciousness cannot be described as a socialist and, hence, is not capable of participating in political decisions. A true socialist is the one ready to undergo sacrifices in his duty to his society. He is also studious and is constantly engaged in the task of comprehending and influencing historical changes.

In this dimension, he is a true explorer, always inquiring and studying what is existing in his social and natural environment in an attempt to determine his own destiny. A true socialist starts the practice of the ideas of Scientific Socialism with himself.

This manifests itself through his thinking, daily activities, his home and family life. In this context, it is therefore essential that our party members and cadres should prove themselves as the human embodiments of both production industries and socialist institutions. Only in this manner could our party members and cadres be able to spread ideological education to all the villages, towns districts and regions of the country.

Since the basic subject-matter of our ideological education of the party members and cadre should be geared to their development of revolutionary attitudes towards labour, this simultaneously necessitates their absorbing to constant technical training, body health exercises and political awareness. Once the party committees, members, wor-

kers organisations, cooperatives, victory-pioneers, youth, women, etc. attain political maturity, it becomes imperative to bring into practice the principles of Democratic-Centralism.

The same principles should be genuinely practised with regards to the state economy and later the whole national economy after it ultimately becomes fully socialised. As regards the functionality of the principle in the rural society, it will be possible only after the rural masses realise the social organisation policy and after acquiring the necessary political consciousness which will come about in due course.

The concept of Democratic-Centralism rests on the assumption that decisions stem from public needs. Such decisions develop from lower public institutions and travel to the above higher institutions where they are systematically discussed and brought to accord with public needs. This being done, they are finally relegated as a directive to the lower institutions for execution. Such is the workings of the dialectical principle of the interconnected motions of decisions between lower and higher organs of the party.

Since the frame work of our ideological education to the party members and the masses in general is by no means exhaustive and has a broad scope, we may also reflect on the paramount necessity of developing a patriotic feeling and a strong appreciation of the party ideology within the attitudes of our people. This is more crucial in the present period of revolutionary upheavals in the World which experiences the tremendous consolidations of the forces of the libe-

ration movements, the establishment of socialist systems within the previously colonised countries and the ever increasing threats of international imperialism which forces us to defend our country and ideology from imperialist invasions.

Patriotism devoid of a socialist content and unrelated to the struggles of the international working class is not genuine patriotism. At the present stage of the world revolutionary process, both our ideology of Scientific Socialism and our patriotic tendencies call forth our participation and support of the struggles for the victory of the World liberation movements. They also call forth our dedication in defending our country from both internal and external enemies and its construction on a socialist basis. The foregoing principles are dialectically inter-connected in their consistency with regards to eradicating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

These principles also explain the dialectics of the struggles of the international working class, the cohesive solidarity between the workers of the socialist countries and the constant revolutionary struggles of the working classes of the capitalist countries against their imperialist states. All these revolutionary forces are united in the ultimate objective, the establishment of Scientific Socialism all over the world. It is within this context that our Revolution is situated in today's world revolutionary process; this is the essence of proletarian internationalism in the epoch of dying colonialism and imperialism.

No doubt our contribution to this World revolutionary process very much depends upon our concentration in the tasks of the concrete realities and conditions wi-

thin our own country. This is the sum total of our struggles against the brutalities of colonialism organically linked with our past heritage. Needless to say, this puts before our party members and cadre the difficult task of scientifically understanding our society in terms of the existing classes and the positions occupied by these classes in the creation of the national economy, production, distribution of products and income and the direction to which each of these classes is inclined in the political and administrative leadership of the society.

Besides this, they should also acquire the proper socialistic ethics of equality, respect, and obedience based on discipline which guarantees brotherhood and unity.

Historically, any society and revolutionary party adhering to these principles is unlikely either to be defeated or to go astray from its objectives.

Finally, our Party members, cadre and the masses should grasp the history and the objectives for which the Revolution of October 1969 proclaims to the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) and the nation in general, the Programme of the SRSP and its implementation, the resolutions of the Central Committee of the SRSP and the Politburo, the speeches and sayings of the Secretary-General of the SRSP, Jaaale Mahamed Siad Barre, the socialist policy pursued by the Revolution and the constant victorries realised through socialist construction.

It is crucial to fit harmoniously the ideology of scientific Socialism with own concrete condition and with our different transitional stages of development. Naturally, our guideline in these aspects remain that provided by the Programme of the SRSP. The principle of criticism and self-criticism, learning from previous mistakes and rewarding or punishing each according to his social obligations give us insights about the broad responsibility bestowed on the shoulders of the Party members and cadre as is clearly revealed by the outlook of Scientific Socialism.

It also indicates the necessity of the Party members to acquire the same outlook about the existence of the World and that the history of mankind lies in the labour process and the struggles between the different social classes of human society.

By way of a brief summary, the party members should give specific consideration to the following points:

1. The Party members should have the same outlook towards the role of economic production and how it was scientifically conceptualised by the philosophers of Scientific Socialism.

2. They should comprehend the policies through which the SRSP is materialising the goals of the society and the ways of implementing Scientific Socialism.

3. They should wage constant struggles against capitalist ideas and other reactionary ideologies.

4. They should have the same outlook towards the cultural revolutionisation of all reactionary and obsolete social systems and traditions.

5. They should maintain the same conceptions about social organizations and the need for collaboration.

6. They should give serious consideration to the need for international alliance between the workers and all the progressive peoples.

7) They should be conscious of the transformations in the transition period from capitalism, tribalism, nomadism, illiteracy underdevelopment etc, to Socialism, literacy and enlightenment, progress and the development and building of a full-scale socialist society.

8) Every party member should contribute to the complete transformation of the previous social order as regards to economic production, intellectual production and the construction of a party united and acting as one person.

This is the order with which the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party is leading the working masses and the nation as a whole; this is the basis upon which to elaborate the educational tasks of our party.



WORLD AFFAIRS

GENERAL FEATURES OF NEO-COLONIALISM

To talk about the phenomenon of neo-colonialism is not something new. Its varied strategies and tactics pose imminent dangers and difficulties against the developing nations. It is not an easy task to write about this topic, but still we are trying to throw some light on certain aspects and features of neo-colonialism so as to help the reader understand its dangers and to declare the stand of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party as regards this phenomenon.

As is well depicted in its Programme, the SRSP emphasises the fulfilment of the contents of the first Charter of the revolution. It gave itself the following responsibilities: to wage bitter and continuous war against imperialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid and at the same time to elevate peaceful co-existence, national independence and world peace in general. This necessitates the need to save the young nations from social stagnation which is a manifestation of neo-colonialism.

The Committed stand of our Party is an indication of the magnitude of the dangers that neo-colonialism poses to the young nations. After the colonial system started to disintegrate with the national liberation movements' continuous victories, causing drastic changes to the world map, the im-

perialists resorted to other effective methods with which they could safeguard their system of exploitation.

V.I.Lenin, in his book (Imperialism is the Highest Stage of Capitalism) aptly wrote about the special features of neo-colonialism, he said «the financial capital and the corresponding politics create several transitional stages, so as to clear the ground for conditions that would lead to the subordination of that country to others. This is proven by the appearance of such states lately».

The revolutionary expert researcher shows neo-colonialism as a new step taken by the imperialists to safeguard their interests in economy, politics and military strategy and to keep the newly independent nations under their control and influence in every field. In other words, neo-colonialism paves the way for dominance of other national states.

This is a clear indication that neo-colonialism is a continuation of the colonial system and an effort to keep its hold on the developing nations in this new epoch of human history. We, the Somali people were at the mercy of the neo-colonialist system before the 21 October 1969 Revolution. Both economically and politically, the

by Abuukar Mohamed Hussein
«IKAR»

country was in the hands of the imperialist countries.

Lately, the imperialists were intensifying their attack against the young nations that chose the way to national liberation and social development.

These attacks are many-sided, namely: political, economical and military. All these aspects serve their interests in one way or another and at the same time intensify their exploitation of the developing nations. The following are the ways that this exploitation is effected: export of capital and manufactured goods, compulsory acceptance of unequal economic relations, intentional retardation of the social development of the exploited countries, keeping them under the influence of international capitalism and creation of disturbances and instability in their economies.

More effective still, the neo-colonialists use alliances of the capitalist financial corporations to enter into unequal trade relations with the nations that produce raw materials, buying their products at minimum prices and at the same time selling to them manufactured goods at appallingly higher prices;

— The monopoly capitalists penetrate and have great influence on the most important organs of the

economies of the developing nations, particularly in the production of oil, and the raw material sources of atomic energy.

— Formation of alliances and military bases to try to stop and frustrate the liberation movements and to create a situation of instability with regards to world peace.

— International monopoly capitalists try to create contradictions between the young nations and the countries in the socialist camp, compelling these newly independent nations to follow reactionary policies antagonizing them with the socialist states.

— They wage constant propaganda in the cultural and ideological spheres.

These imperialistic policies are always put into practice in accordance with the prevailing conditions. In the economic field, as an example, one could cite the «aid» that these countries give third World countries in order to blackmail them to sign and accept unequal trade relations, which allow them control the main channels of their economy and from which they reap huge amounts of profits.

Economic and monetary experts from the imperialists nations and their research institutions serve as of neo-colonialism extends its tentacles. The nature of their work necessitates and compels them to fulfil such undertakings, and till they supervise the projects in which the capitalist countries and companies are involved. These experts and institutions keep constant research in the economic and social aspects of developing countries to assist the intelligence servi-

ce of the imperialist countries ie. the C.I.A.

In addition to that they try to find out the most effective method to weaken and disturb the economic relations between the developing countries and the socialist camp.

It is a historically established fact that the export of capital and of manufactured goods are the economic bases of capitalism. This exported capital is a weapon with which monopoly capital and the imperialists exploit developing countries bringing in huge profits and at the time strengthen their international position. This makes export of capital and manufactured goods one of the main methods with which imperialism fulfils its international strategies.

In his book *The Problems of Food and Imperialist Policies* (the 35th page of the Arabic translation), the Soviet writer Markov said: «During the period 1957-'68, the American companies reaped, for every hundred (\$ 100) they exported, a profit of :\$ 6.8 in Canada, \$ 6.14 in Western Europe, \$ 10.16 in Latin America and \$ 26.31 in Asia and Africa. Africa supplies the greatest share in these profits and it increases continuously; in 1966 it was 7.3% and in 1968 it was 9.6%. Pierre Jalléc, a French writer in his book (*Imperialism in the Year 1970*) wrote that the export of capital is used only in special places. If we take the American exported capital for example, 44% of it is allotted to petrol and to minerals. He talked about the unequal exchange involved in the transactions between the imperialist countries and the developing ones as a result of the inability of the developing na-

tions in transporting and marketing their products and worse still their serious dependence on the finished goods of the imperialist countries.

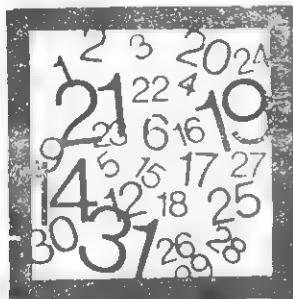
We can easily see that this unequal exchange is an indirect way of robbing and exploiting the young nations. In this system, the monopoly capitalists sell their finished goods at the highest possible prices, while in turn they import raw material at unusually lower prices. This causes the alliance of the third world countries and their present struggle to limit and stop this naked robbery. The declaration of the Colombo Conference of 1976 was a clear indication of their. Growing solidarity

In the political and military spheres, the neo-colonialists try to have a grip on the young nations using military alliance and meetings. Other common methods with which they use to safeguard their imperialistic interests are: encouraging and organizing coup d'etats, direct aggression and involvement in the internal affairs of these countries, encouraging civil wars, and last but not least the existence of the reactionary and apparthied regimes which constantly harass the young progressive states.

The phenomenon of neo-colonialism is growing and is taking a good share in the effort of the imperialists to hinder the progressive social development of the young nations; to hinder the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism and to disperse the strength of the progressive forces by creating problems between them.

In the recent times, the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces are intensifying their activities in order

(Cont. on Page 26)



MONTHLY BULLETIN

JUSTICE DAY CELEBERATED

«Justice should be felt by all and should keep abreast with the Social transformation being made by the nation», declared the secretary Generatry General of the SRSP in a speech he delivered at a ceremony marking the 3rd Anniversary of the Justice Day on the 14th of February.

Justice, the cornerstone of any well-ordered and efficiently run society fell into disruption under the corrupt previous regimes, who controlled the affairs of the state before the dawn of 21st October 1969 Revolution.

The president stated that

before the Revolution national security and peace were threatened as a result of the prevalent injustice and negligence of the laws. Also the laws which existed in the country prior to the revolution were incompatible with the realities of the Somali Society, becuase they were products of the colonial legal system based on capitalism

«The fundamental pillar of the revolution is justice, thus the Revolution and the Party should consider anybody contravening the execution of justice as one who had done harm to the interest of the masses». Continued the secretary General Jaalle Siad.

«We must liberate ourselves from foreign cultures and bad influences, we have to base our legal system upon the socio-economic and environmental conditions of our country, laws must conform to the mass transfomations of the nation», he added.

In conclusion, Jaalle Siad commended the judges, kadis, lawyers, workers of the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs and law enforcement officers for their dedication, in fulfilling the revolution's call towards the realization of justice and security, and called upon them for more close cooperation with the masses.

High level Jibuti delegation visits the SDR

The Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, received the delegation from the French Somali Coast headed by the president of LPAI, Jaalle Hassan Guleid Abtidon, at the presidency on early February.

Speaking to the delegation, Jaalle Siad reaffirmed the

unconditional support of the Somali Democratic Republic to the liberation cause of the people in the Dijibuti Coast and declared that the Somali nation is ready to render both material and moral support to their brethren in the coast. The president of the SDR called on the people of Jibouti to strengthen their unity, cohesion and brotherhood which have been achie-

ved successfully. He pointed out that international organizations and progressive nations who love peace and liberty whole-heartedly support the liberation struggle of the people in the Coast.

During their one-week visit to Somalia, the delegation have had talks with FLCS in Mugadishu, in which they worked out a joint common

stand which they will present to the forthcoming Paris Conference on the independence of the French Colonized Somali Coast.

Speaking to newsmen at the airport shortly before wounding up their visit to the SDR, the First Vice Chairman of Jibouti Parliamentary council Jaalle Saad Warsame said that the talks were aimed at bringing about a common stand to be

adopted by the three groups in the forthcoming Paris conference and declared that the talks have ended in success and understanding.

On the Forthcoming Paris Conference between the Tripartite front and the French Government to be held on the 28th of February, Jaalle Saad said that the agenda for this conference includes decision on a final date for the territory's independence

for which, he declared, they will propose to be not later than the end of June or the beginning of July 1977.

He added that the Paris Conference, which was expected to be held earlier in January was postponed at the request of the Tripartite front (the LPAI, FLCS and the Parliamentary majority group) to enable them to work out a common stand for Paris Conference.

Aboud Jumbe's visit to Somalia

The First Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania Aboud Jumbe and his delegation concluded a two-day friendly visit to Somalia late February.

Speaking to reporters at the Airport, Ndugu Jumbe said, that his talks with the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare were mainly centred on the Co-operation and relations between the two parties and governments who pursue the same socialist principles. He also said their talks included discussions on current International problems, African in particular, as well as the views of the two states on the forthcoming Afro-Arab conference that will be held in Cairo.

Ndugu Jumbe said that his talks with Jaalle Siad follow earlier discussions held in Tanzania by the heads of the two countries and declared that they had been successful.

The Tanzania Vice-President said that the Union of the TANU & Afro-Shirazi parties will contribute greatly to the progress of Tanzania as well as the promotion of its relations with the progressive nations. He also added that the merger of the two parties will enhance the support extended to the liberation movements.

Ndugu Jumbe called upon the independent African states to strengthen their



unity and provide full support to the liberation movements which are engaged in bitter struggle against colonialism. He stressed that disunity and divisions within

the ranks of the Liberation movements is one of the main obstacles facing them and this poses a serious threat to their struggle. He declared that freedom can only be realized through co-operation and unity.

Reaffirming the recent decision of the front-line states to back the Patriotic Front led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, Ndugu Jumbe described the current tour of Abel Muzorewa and Sithole to some African countries as «unnecessary».

CZCHOSLAVAKIA FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS SOMALIA

The foreign minister of Czechoslovakia Comrade Chnoupek Bohuslav, at the head of a five-member delegation, paid a four-day friendly visit to Somalia in February.

Comrade Chnoupek is a member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and from December 1971 up to the present he is the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak socialist Republic and became a deputy of the house of the people of the Federal Assembly in September 1972.

Speaking to news men on his arrival, Comrade Chnoupek said that the purpose of his visit is to further strengthen the good relations already existing between the two countries, particularly co-operation in the economic, political, social, educational cultural and scientific fields. He said his visit is the product of the recent meeting between Jaalle Siad and Comrade Husak in Moscow during the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

«My visit also follows the one of the First Vice-president and defence Minister of Somalia Jaalle Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar to Czechoslovakia, as well as for the common principles of scientific socialism implemented by the two countries» he added.

On the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Chnoupek pointed out that the resolutions included that Czechoslovakia maintain strong ties with the progressive countries and give full support to the African People struggling for their independence.

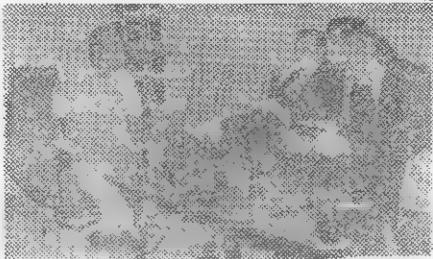
One day after his visit Comrade Chnoupek was received by the Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, (SRSP) and President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare in his office.

The foreign Minister delivered a message from the secretary general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Comrade Gustav Husak to the Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Siad. The message was in reply to an earlier one sent by Jaalle Siad.

Speaking on the occasion Jaalle Siad expressed that the visit of the foreign Minister to Somalia

contributes to the consolidation of the relations between the two countries which share the same ideology of scientific socialism, and requested Comrade Chnoupek to extend heartfelt salute to comrade Gustav Husak, the Party the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia.

During the talks, Comrade Chnoupek said the meeting



of Jaalle Siad with Comrade Husak in Moscow last year opened a new era for the strengthening of the relations between the two countries. The minister expressed his gratitude for the warm reception accorded to him and his delegation during their stay in Somalia.

The president of the SDR and the foreign minister of the socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia in concluding their talks discussed current international issues and particularly the strengthening of the solidarity of socialist states and the promotion of world peace.

The Czechoslovakia delegation wound up their visit on the 20th February. Speaking to reporters at the Airport shortly before his departure Comrade Chnoupek disclosed that he was impressed by the high level of political consciousness attained by Somali people as a result of the adoption of scientific socialism. «Wherever we went we met with comrades who received us with good spirit» he added. «I will be glad to deliver a message to the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Gustav Husak, concerning an invitation to visit the SDR. The message is from the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare», he said.

3rd. ANNIVERSARY OF SOMALIA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE ARAB LEAGUE

Somalia's Membership in the Arab League did not represent a new development or novelty in the eyes of those people who knew the history of Somalia and who kept track on the relations existing, from time immemorial, between the Somali people and the Arab world. In fact the Somali people culturally belong to the Arab world. Let us only add here that this was not discovered today or even yesterday, rather it is something deeply rooted in the history of our nation and in our people's life.

The decision of the Revolution is but a crowning of this deeply rooted relations which have been formed and preserved by the people the-

mselves. The colonialists tried to disrupt and subvert these relations, but to no avail. Their failure is due to the fact that these relations have been formed and strengthened through the centuries; they already existed at a time when the the colonialists had not appeared on the scene.

The on-going contacts between the people of the regions, generation after generation, through migration, religion, civilization and culture, have shaped their relations and fostered great similarities in their ways of life.

On every occasion, and particularly in critical times, our people have expressed themselves in favour of the Arab World. The attitude of

the Government and people of Somalia and their reactions to the events which were taking place in the Arab World sprung from the political and social outlook of the Somali nation.

14th of February 1974, which is the day the representatives of the Arab League met in Cairo and Somalia's entry in the Arab league was announced, will remain as a memorable day in the history of the Scanli nation. This glorious day marking Somalia's official entry in the Arab League was celebrated in an atmosphere of rejoicing in the Somali Democratic with the hope that there will also be more understanding and close co-operation.

PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF

The Political Parties and Public organizations of the Democratic Republic of Korea held a joint meeting in Pyongyang on January 25, 1977, and adopted a letter appealing to the political parties and personages of all in South Korea and compatriots over seas. The letter continued a new national salvation proposal in coping with the difficult situation created by the splitists both within and without the country and solving in a peaceful way the question of the country's reunification by the united forces of the nation.

The document expressed its deep concern over the task facing the Korean people to avert at any cost the danger of permanent split of the

Korean nation, the nuclear war and take decisive measures for realizing the peaceful reunification of the country.

It also said that the criminal «two Koreans» and war policy pursued in South Korea under the slogan of «anti-communism» are leading to fascist terrorism and the strangling and stamping out all

KOREA

the democratic and patriotic forces.

Furthermore the the document demanded the dismantling of the nuclear base in South Korea, all the weapons of destruction including nuclear weapons be shipped out and the U.S. troops be unconditionally withdrawn.

The Somali people with the progressive forces of the World fully support the just struggle of the Korean people for averting the danger of national split and war and accelerating the peaceful reunification of Korea.

IMPERIALIST MANOEUVRES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

On the 6th of February 1977, the daily Soviet Newspaper *pravda* commented on the aid received by the racist regimes in Southern Africa from the Western imperialist countries. In the commentary, *pravda* described the enormous mineral, military and political advantages that imperialism finds in southern Africa. Since the imperialist countries can not dispense with such resources, they are forced to go into any adventures in defending their interests and maintaining the status quo in Southern Africa.

Naturally, imperialism could only attain these resources at the expense and brutal massacres of the

indigenous population in Southern Africa whose consciousness and struggles towards their self-determination is getting momentum day after day. It is no wonder therefore that today the confrontation between the forces of national liberation movement and that of imperialism founded upon the racist regime of Rhodesia are fighting against each other at a critical position.

At present, the latest propaganda tactics of the imperialist countries and especially that of U.S. are trying to impress upon the African public opinion such cheap propositions that only a concerted pressure from Vorster on Ian Smith

could bring about a peaceful alternative to the imminent danger in Rhodesia, a situation which conditions an inevitable military settlement to the Rhodesian question.

The African countries and peoples, however, can not be deceived by the sinister intentions of such propaganda when they precisely know that it is imperialism that backfires all the efforts of the national liberation movement at finding a peaceful solution in Zimbabwe, and that it has contributed towards turning the whole of Southern Africa into a permanent sources of military threat to the neighbouring African countries, national liberation movements and the African continent as whole.

(Cont. from Page 21)

to effect disturbances and civil wars, like they are doing in Lebanon. When conditions necessitate, they even use mercenaries. They encourage the apartheid policy in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Israel, giving them every possible assistance: military, financial, technical, ideological and moral support.

The ideological war which the imperialist countries stage against the progressive forces and socialist countries also takes a good part in fulfilling their neo-colonial interests, which in a nutshell consists of dwarfing and stopping the spread of progressive ideas as and re-establishing the colonial system.

The base of this ideological warfare is the deep hatred of the imperialists towards socialist ideas. They try to strengthen ideas against scientific socialism, and to create a one-sided economic structure giving rise to a non-productive parasitic social class which hinders the development of the country and at the same time very much dependent on the international monopoly capitalist market for their lavish consumption.

Another aspect of the neo-colonial steps to weaken the developing nations is manifested by the grouping of the industrialised countries into a camp so as to increase their bargaining power.

The phenomenon of neo-colonialism

needs a deep and extensive research. In this article we are only raising its general features. The experience acquired from the struggle of the developing nations in eradicating all kinds of oppression and exploitation shows the necessity of the unity of the revolutionary forces in order to face and destroy the policy and tactics of neo-colonialism and achieve new technological developments and production relations. This again shows that neo-colonialism is not a static phenomenon and hence we should realise the danger it poses against development and progress which necessitates the unity and coming together of the progressive and revolutionary forces to form a strong front against the neo-colonialists and imperialists.



THEORETICAL ISSUE

LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

By Yusuf Suleman

The knowledge about the revolutionary party of the working class is part and parcel of the theory of scientific socialism, which studies the class struggle, the realisation of the socialist revolution and the construction of a socialist society. This knowledge scientifically clarifies the objective indispensability of the birth and development of the vanguard parties, their organizational and ideological strategies and tactics for executing their policies. Historical experience has proved the truth of this matter hence the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) became a historical event of great importance in the radical and qualitative change of the Somali society.

This party will play a prominent role in the future prosperity and development of the nation, the development of the working class struggle, unity of theory and the revolutionary movement of the masses, in working out the programme of the socialist construction etc. The Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) has clearly and profoundly in his speech to the Founding Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) stated: «It is clear that, the imperative development to socialism is impossible without a political organisation. The organisation which

will fulfill the desired goal to the development and prosperity of our nation, the achievement of the working class interest - this organisation is a revolutionary party, a vanguard party, party of the new type, equipped with the theory of scientific socialism and the international experience of socialist construction, a party which is capable of giving a correct analysis in every real situation of the Somali Democratic Republic».

The Parties of the new type have rules related with the party life and its existence. These rules are the guiding laws which direct the internal life and the task of the Party. In order to realise such tasks it is essential to be armed with the methods, means and organisation of the implementation of this objective. The guiding principles of the vanguard party gives the right answer to this question. V.I. Lenin for the first time in the history of the revolutionary parties formulated the leading principles of the party of the new type, thus bearing his name. The Leninist principles of party leadership.

The principles of the party leadership are categories which have scientific bases showing the characteristics, forms and methods of work and directing the party organs in leading the party organisations, government, economy, culture and trade unions.

The Party gives due consideration to the betterment of the internal life of the party. Since the prime task of the party is to lead and organize the working masses, special emphasis is needed in the co-ordination and the continuous necessary relation it has with the people. The leading principles of the party of the New type is continually discussed and enriched in all congress and plenary sessions of the CC of the Party.

Hence among the leading principles of the vanguard party are:

1. Collective leadership.
2. Selection, training and distribution of the party cadres.
3. Constant control of the fulfilment of the task.
4. Unity of science and Politics.
5. Unity of ideological and organisational work.
6. The permanent relation the party has with the masses.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

In order to avoid mistakes and decisions taken in isolation, it is necessary to put into effect the principle of collective leadership. All issues are collectively discussed and debated, consequently upon reaching a common conclusion, it is doubtless that the power and ability of the party will grow and

achieve quick victories. The role of the party in the creation of the new life is greatly determined by its correct implementation of the principle of collective leadership.

Collective leadership is a fundamental law which simplifies for the party organisations in executing their duties especially in training the party cadres and suitably developing the agility of the party members.

— If the principle of collective leadership is not carefully observed, anarchy and difficulties face the party. The experience of parties which to some extent ignored the importance of this principle shows the negative consequence of not strictly observing it. The violation of democratic centralism which gives the party members the power to submit and forward their ideas and advices greatly harms the elementary rules of the party life.

In order to observe the essence of the principle of collective leadership is essential to put into effect the following rules:

— Issues of utmost importance are to be continually and collectively discussed to arrive at agreeable conclusions.

— Issues on debate should be finalised with a majority vote.

— To guarantee the fulfillment of the decisions effective campaigns should be undertaken.

The principle of collective leadership compels every leader to consider the ideas of the Party members, to listen their advice and to consider the experience of the working masses. Collective leader-

ship and collective discussion does not imply to overlook the separate responsibility and duty of each individual. The use of collective leadership as a camouflage of evading individual responsibility creates confusion and disunity.

After the collective discussion and therefore decision, its implementation depends on the capability and diligence of the available cadres in realising the decision taken. Consequently the principle of selecting, preparing and distributing of cadres has become a necessity.

Jaalle Siad The General Secretary of the (SRSP), in the Third Plenary Session of C.C., on this subject said: «Individualism should be eliminated within the Party and be replaced by collectivism and cooperation which should spread to all party members».

2. SELECTION, PREPARATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CADRES.

The principle of selection, preparation and the distribution of cadres is a fundamental principle which qualifies the effectiveness of the Party leadership. The success of the party greatly depends on how the cadres are selected, prepared and distributed. That is why the question of the cadre formation becomes very crucial within the Party and necessitates the nomination of a candidate by his political consciousness and capability. The party cadres bear the following characteristics:

— Political consciousness based on the objective reality;

— Vigilance and selfless sacrifice

for the cause of the working masses and the construction of socialism.

- Boundless devotion and love for work.
- Loyalty to the Party and to embody a principled stand;
- Must have close contact with the masses;
- Must actively participate in national projects etc;
- Be patriot and internationalist;
- Good conduct, moral and discipline.
- An objective outlook to scientific socialism.

The Party must have the power of evenly organising and making use of the old and young cadres. It is essential to merge the rich experience of the old cadres with the initiative and enthusiasm of the young cadres.

After the selection of the cadres it is essential to train and prepare them for their respected duties. A task could be fulfilled only when someone has the knowledge education of it, when the work is fully planned and the mighty force of the cadres is fully organized. The preparation of the cadre depends on the numbers needed. The cadre should have the necessary education and qualification for the means of production, and his education should be gradually increased so that he may acquire the know-how of the modern techniques. Therefore every generation should transmit their experience to the next generation.

When the Party, gradually raises the political consciousness of the cadres, educates and convinces them in the theory of scientific socialism, it can then guarantee its move to progress.

The Party gives special importance to the distribution of cadres. Their distribution should be determined by the political and economical tasks which are the bases. Considering their interests and capabilities, the cadre should be distributed accordingly, that they may fulfill their duties to the maximum, thus quantitatively and qualitatively mastering the art of production. By the time of cadre nomination, collective evaluation should be made (this is very important). The duties of the cadres are strictly checked and observed both by the leaders and the masses. The consideration given to the opinion of the masses is a basic law to cadre distribution. The cadres should not be evaluated according to their word, but according to their deed, i.e. the way they fulfill their duty and their implementation of the Party policy. The confidence given to the cadres will strengthen their ability and responsibility to perform the iriduties to the utmost.

3. CONTROL AND CHECKING OF DUTY EXECUTIONS

In the leadership and implementation of Party Work, control and checking plays an important role in ascertaining the execution of the decisions of the Party and government.

After distributing and assigning the cadres, the success of the decision taken depends on the organisational degree for its execution. A proper organisation of checking and control will raise the degree of responsibility and commitment of the cadres, strengthen party and government discipline, stifle buareaucratism, instill the cadre with the party spirit. Control of work

implementation should be systematic and continuous, it should not spontaneous.

This control is not meant for only the agencies (departments) that have not fulfilled their plans but also for those which over fulfilled in order to gain their experience. Control is beneficial when it is based on thorough checking in every respect when the leaders participate and in noticing the weak points, instantly settle and correct the mistakes on the spot. The aim of the control is to simplify the execution of the decision adopted and the correction of mistakes. Control is not carried by the leaders only but also by the masses. During the process of checking and control, the masses acquaint themselves with the practical management, government and public tasks, which popularises the party and therefore strengthens the tie it has with the masses. The control should not be carried by the leaders only but also the masses. The control should be concrete, continuous, permanent and interconnected.

4. UNITY OF IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL WORK

Unity of work organisation and ideology. The principle of unity of work, organisation and ideology has dual objectives which are dialectically interconnected. It is the duty of every socialist to educate, orient, hence raise the political consciousness of the people and at the same time showing them how to organise their work and the various ways of fulfilling it. V. I. Lenin said, «there can not be revolutionary movement without a revolutionary the-

ory». The experience gained from the movement develops the theory. This portrays how organisation and ideology are interconnected and therefore indispensable to one another.

Permanent relation with the masses.

The permanent relation the party has with the masses is one of the principles of the party leadership. The policy of the party can not be effective unless it has strong ties with the masses. It must be aware of the needs and difficulties of the masses and should think of the well-being and progress of the working class.

Education and orientation are the best methods of mass leadership.

The confidence of the masses can be won by a leader characterised by:

Strong belief in the ideas of scientific socialism, principallship honesty, knowledge of his duty, the patience to listen to the claims and advice of the masses, to fulfill his promises and to be simple and respect all, kind and sociable. Such characteristics are the only means which permits the leaders to maintain strong ties with the masses.

The social organisations, i.e. workers, women, youth, co-operatives etc. take a prominent role in strengthening the relation the party has with the masses. The general Secretary of the Somali Revolutionary socialist Party (SRSP) in the Third Plenary session of the Central Committee said: «The party must maintain a strong ideological and organisational ties with the masses».

(Cont. on Page 33)

POLITICAL VOCABULARY

PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND PRODUCTION RELATIONS

The first issue of this year contained a discussion on the mode of production and in this issue we will deal briefly with the two component parts of the mode of production:- The productive forces and production relations.

PRODUCTIVE FORCES:

Productive forces are composed of the means of production and man.

The means of production is the material base of the society. The workers take the greater part during production (these workers have experience, knowledge and varied methodology in production).

The productive forces show and measure the relation of man with nature and the level reached in mastering it. When people are involved in creating their material base, they constantly develop the productive forces, they invent new machines, discover the laws of development of society and nature. This continuously develops the productive forces which in turn affects the production relations.

PRODUCTION RELATIONS.

This is the combination of the economic relations that people enter with each other (independent

of their consciousness and will) during production, distribution, exchange and use of the material resources.

Social production can exist and continue only when people meet on work and then exchange the produce of their work. The base of production relations is the ownership of the means of production. It defines and decides the production relations. History has taught us the existence of two kinds of ownership: Private and Social.

The private ownership of the means of production allows certain classes and groups of people to live on others benefitting from the those deprived of the ownership of the means of production.

The relations of production based on the private ownership of the means of production has passed through many stages having their different manifestations: (slavery, feudalism and capitalism).

The appearance of the social ownership of the means of production eradicated exploitation of man by man and at the same time created comradeship and collaboration.

Production relations develop because they have direct and strong relationship with the productive

forces; this relationship between the two components of the means of production is defined by the law of correspondence of production relations and productive forces.

When the productive forces are passing through a special stage of their development they come up against the existing production relations. In the socio-economic stages where antagonistic contradictions exist (slavery, feudalism and capitalism) their contradiction develops to the highest level which necessitates the stagnation of the social development by these production relations.

Social Revolution is the only solution to this problem

The 21st October, 1969 Revolution took place as a result of the disparity between the production relations and productive forces. Before the Revolution, the Somali people were endangered by the existing economic stagnation, and the small group that tried to live on the rest and the international imperialism.

The victories of the Revolution balanced the relationship between the productive relations and productive forces and hence the Somali people realised constant development and prosperity.

ON CULTURE



SOMALI PATRIOTIC POETRY

Among the versatile forms of expression on the theme of the Somali National Liberation Movement and its history, none to my opinion can rise to the level of dexterity in delivering nor aspire to a combating role in the struggle, comparable to that of the Somali Poetry. It is not only that more has been said on the subject but due to continuous emphasis no one seems to question the validity of that statement as a matter of course. However, methodical research studying objective phenomena cannot recognise anything as unquestionable, it actually sets forth by putting questions and then plods its

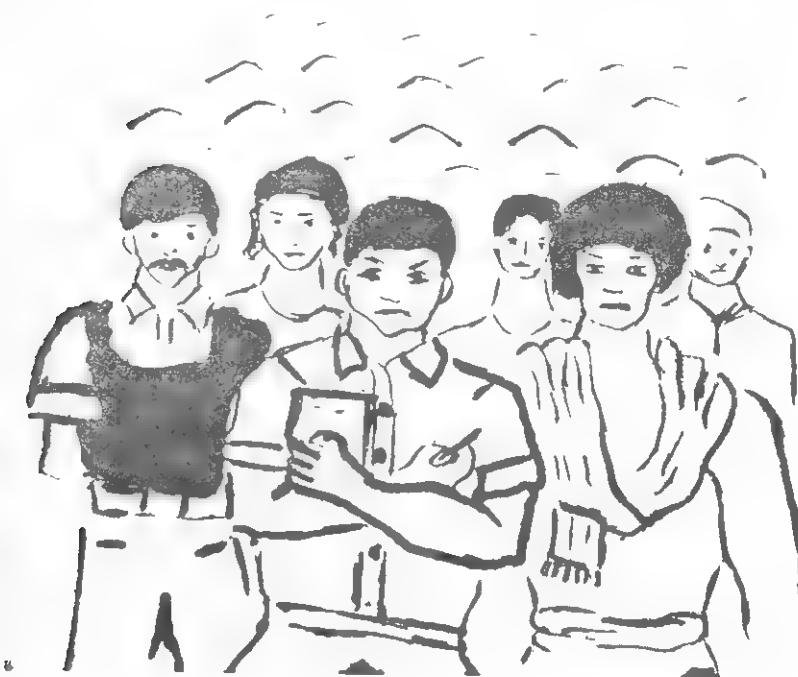
way through for the answers to satisfy them.

Therefore we shall have to come down precisely to the question: Has the role of the Somali Poetry in the patriotic struggle received proper appreciation in research? Here we may concede that considerable discussion and rhetoric has been dedicated to the task but hardly any serious research. By research I mean study, analysis and methodical appraisal. By contending that the contributing role of Somali Poetry in the patriotic struggle has been orally assessed in general but not methodically studied,

By Rashid Abdullahi

I hope to convey that the matter has not been viewed in its historical perspective. There could possibly be some endeavours but none have come out public to my knowledge. Methodical study research is such study which would trace back the roots and sources nourishing patriotic poetry; it is that which would uncover the structural development of social conditions inspired by that poetry, its intellectual merits and aesthetic values. It is that which would focus on the general qualitative advancement brought about by patriotic poetry, pronounce those national aspirations and aspects of social life on which it dwelled and would, this being perhaps the most important tasks, define this poetry within the context of our cultural heritage. Methodical appraisal would also be required to introduce to the wider public the lives of the representative bards of the patriotic tradition in poetry, characteristics of their works and their respective contributions to the rise of this new literary tradition. What we are really missing is the publication of books on such research and appraisal.

This subject cannot be treated profoundly it is rather too extensive for this article. Hence, I do not intend to face it seriously since a running article is hardly the pla-



ce to study the subject to any appreciable depth. My ultimate desire is to unveil the problem and indicate to the literary community persisting shortcoming. I shall thus try to relate very broadly to the problem in the hope that perhaps the discussion on the need for methodical research on patriotic poetry would provoke others to pick up the challenge.

At the outset it is worth reminding ourselves that patriotic poetry was an integral part of the Somali popular movement against the colonisers, the latter itself being a reaction to the new conditions borne under the impact of the second world war. In fact, the history of the Somali patriotic struggle dates back prior to the second world war and did not lose continuity since the close of the 19th century. However, it was only in the aftermath of the second world war that the movement engulfed the entire Somali people every where. Likewise although the roots of patriotic poetry reach to the 19th century (the poetry of Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hasan) it develops into a dominating and effective component of Somali poetry only after the second world war.

Patriotic poetry represents the experience and resulting new level of consciousness attained by the Somali masses. It was inspired by the spontaneity of popular yearnings which, though not fully cognisant of the significant historical transmission underway nevertheless symbolized the patriotic upsurge of Somali nationalism.

A serious study of the patriotic poetry of that period would reveal the beginnings of the rise of modern Somali nationalism which gave im-

petus to the broader struggle of the Somali people. One often comes across the assertion that patriotic verse and modern literature created the feelings of Somali Nationalism which is not exactly the case. The role of literature and especially poetry in giving momentum to nationalism cannot be understated but the relationship between patriotic sentiment and literature is not one way oriented. It is a matter of a more complex interaction. I want to underline here that patriotic sentiment and its rallying literature condition one another in symbolic inter-dependence. Above that the determining factors will be naturally those of objective historical conditions and changes of the society that generate the new social feelings and consciousness. That consciousness manifests itself in different forms of artistic expression including literary and poetic mediums.

At the time when colonial domination was being imposed on our country, Somali national consciousness was developing from an earlier stage characterised by a homogeneity based on cultural and linguistic integration. It was however lacking the integrated economic base and state organs to support it. Somali society of that period was depending on a backward economy held by a primitive mode of production. This was apparent from the non-existence of social capital and pastoral development on the land supporting the major part of the population, except for a few enclaves where agricultural production had been established. Evidently, the Somali mode represented a relatively advanced stage of historical development in comparison with

other African countries South of Sahara. The Somali people were already familiar with private ownership of the means of production — in this case household ownership of livestock herds.

From such conditions the social formation that evolved was based on kinship and tribal affiliations, since the prevailing economic and cultural mode could not support the emergence of higher formation. Apparently, Somali society was in transition, at that time, from the earlier primitive mode partially persisting in the form of collective land ownership but not yet making the final step to full fledged slavery or feudal system, although certain premature indications in that direction, (like utilising impoverished nomads as «herds-servants») were taking shape in some areas. The above problem is of such a magnitude that one should not expect us to treat it here. It is certainly a problem which deserves separate research. Our objective here is to focus the background of the consciousness of the Somali Poet. The aforesaid social formation gave vent to a social consciousness and specific wisdom reflective of the living conditions of the society. The Somali literary heritage, folklore art and wisdom — dominated by poetic tradition which constitute the components of Somali culture today, extend their roots into that environment and social structure. Taking a random glance at the work of any poet of that period will instantly reveal the important values of life in that society. Take for instance the pervasive thoughts of that poetry, the ideals it exhorts to or where its contempt is directed, the environment it depicts, the wisdom con-

veyed & the forms of the language usage; from all these angles a realistic view of the prevalent social conditions is boldly presented. Since the social order of the day was predominantly tribalistic, the consciousness of the people revolved around parochial loyalty to the tribe. The Somali identified himself first of all with his tribe. To identify one-self as «Somali» was of a lesser significance than commitment to the tribe. Demonstrative in this regard is the low or negligible occurrence of the word Somali in poetry, prior to the rise of the patriotic tradition.

As the struggle for national liberation mounted, particularly towards the end of world war II, reference to Somali nationalism and freedom emerged as vanguard echoes in popular Somali poetry. This would indicate that the development of patriotic consciousness prior to poetic motivation was the objective pre-requisite and not vice versa. That is the consistant historical sequence since literary inspiration and content is borne out of prevailing reality. Somali partiotism itself was a direct response and rejection of colonial enslavement. Colonial rule did not simply mean political subordination but under its yoke the chances of separate organic development of an indigenous capitalistic economy were arrested or distorted. Colonialism did not bring in its wake a generative process of the material and technological basis of capitalist production but merely transformed the existing small producer's economy into an appendage of its metropolitan economy. Let us not overlook the process by which the colonial rule undermined the integrated self-sufficient Somali economy and rendered it eventually in per-

petual dependency on the world capitalist market. Meanwhile, under the colonial regime new social groups and classes were to come to the scene such as an intermediary merchant class of both indigenous and foreign elements, administrative bureaucracy and an embryonic working class. On the other hand, the mass of livestock herders was being progressively drawn into the market economy and external trade. In agriculture, part of the peasantry began falling back into subsistence under the exploitative pressure of merchant middlemanship while many others were alienated from their land holdings by colonial capitalist farmers and reduced to status of a hired working force.

These colonially induced trends culminated in a process of social transition of the indigenous society. The influence exerted by these changes constituted perhaps the most important single factor in the revolution of contemporary popular awareness of national identity. Among other factors that contributed to the crystallisation of the people's consciousness we may en-

list: the immigration from the country-side and progressive urbanisation, political developments on the world scene characterized by the growing role of the Socialist community, and successful struggle of colonial peoples amidst the general crisis of the capitalist system at larg.

Such were the internal as well as the external conditions which fostered the rise of the liberation oriented awarness. That awarness manifested itself in many forms of which the poetic expression was an outstanding feature.

Having thus outlined the general conditions associated with the elaborate closely on the related questions: What are the characteristics peculiar to this type of poetry? What are the merits of its intellectual concepts? What destiny does it visualise? How does it relate to the previous literary heritage? Does it innovate on the poetic form and structure?

We shall attend to these and other questions in the forthcoming issue of HALGAN.

(Cont. from Page 29)

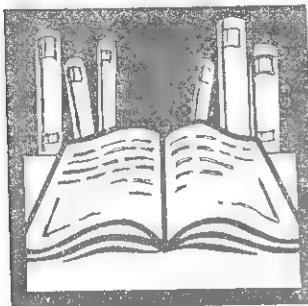
6. UNITY OF SCIENCE AND POLITICS

The role of the Party of the new type in day to day life is widening and growing. Many issues concerning life, politics, economy culture, which need urgent decisions await the party. In order to have decisive party policy its, necessary to make an all round study, discussions and understanding the objective reality of the world.

Great progress has been achieved in science. Therefore it is essential to study and acquire this knowledge in order to clearly direct the policy of the government.

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party truly implements the essence of the above mentioned principles. The realisation of these principles brings continuous success, rich experience and continuous execution of the decision of the higher organs of the Party.

BOOK REVIEW



CHILDRENS' STORIES

Every developing society should give special considerations to the care, growth and awarness of its children, because it is here where the roots of culture and consciousness aimed at grows from.

Child care unlike the belief of many is beyond the family realm. So it is a crucial task for various branches of the society? to participate in this field, in order to give impetus to the formal education given.

The sense of perception which the child acquires from his trend of life plays an important role in his development: The peer-group he plays with and various incidents he experiences at home, school and other places. Many countries deligently try to harmonise the interaction the child has with nature and the that society. As a result many citi-favourable part of the culture of es and towns create gardens, some of them having zoos. Also various activities like sports, special type of debates and competitions were initiated. The children are also shown concerts and films which depict the life of their society and are directed to the right culture; apart from books, novels which portray the culture of that society are encouraged.

To come back to our children, we see that much has been done for them: the elimination of diff-

erent foreign languages, teachers who have different standards and knowledge, foriegn orientationis etc.

The use of the Somali language in formal education has given every child an extra ability to understand the subject taught. This is supposed to enhance the tie between formal and informal education. But till now it becomes rather difficult to integrate the formal and informal education. Yet there are people who have spared no efforts in order to implement this task in writings. There are two books which will soon be out written by Comrade Dahabo Farah Hassan member of the Administrative body of the Somali National University, and International Affairs Secretary of the Somali Women's Democratic Organisation:

I. The «Somali Childre's Stories», which are six (6) among the literary and cultural stories of the Somali peaple. These are titlea:

1. Cartir Caano ku-nuuge
2. A Wing-less Bird
3. Beloved Brothers
4. Serpant and Dik-dik
5. Lion's share

6. Takaro fow-fow.

Some of these stories are for entertainment; but most of them portray a deep reality of life which the childern can not easily conceive other wise.

II. «Translated Russian Tales», consists of Russian Stories which she translated from English while at the same time giving them Somali names and applying terms and concepts common to our culture. They are also six stories entitled.

- a) The shining Bird
- b) Farah and Suban
- c) Eebla the wise
- d) «Kariir»
- e) «Calalow»
- f) Fadhumo — xay

Like the former, apart from depicting social realities, they also teach the legends of another country and provide entertainment for children.

It is essential to encourage the writings of these stories and of higher standard ones, so that both children and youth may get enough reading material apart from what they are given in education institutions.

HALGAN

Salutes the First Congress of the Somali Women's Democratic Organisation and looks forward to the Somali Workers and the Somali Youth's Founding Congresses.

HALGAN

Printed monthly at the

State Printing Agency

Mogadishu, SDR.

Apartheid . the scandal of the 20th century



The Progressive Forces of whole world demand an end to apartheid and racial discrimination . Freedom and human rights for the peoples of southern Africa



This picture portrays "Barkin" used in traditional Somali society for holding the head above the ground in order to preserve hair-do. The neck rests on the half moon - shaped part, "Barkin" implies "Pillow".